1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IV

MATERIAL CULTURE

HUNTING

224 HUNTING is carried on in three ways in the Rif, by means of the rifle, the net, and the trap. In the fall and winter the Riffians, and especially the mountaineers of the Senhaja, spend as much of their time as they can spare climbing about the mountain sides in search of game.

[41] The weapons with which they hunt are confined to rifles of European manufacture and
[262] Taghzuthi flintlocks. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, hares, pigeons, partridges, wild boar, and, where there are any, the aoudad, wild ox, and gazelle. Since before any animal may be eaten by Mohammedans it is necessary that its throat be cut ceremonially, — the butcher pronouncing the formula "*bism illah, ullahu akbar*," — the Riffians have devised several means of counteracting the consequences of the game's dying before this has been done. The hunter when loading his gun may kiss the lead ball, pronouncing the formula of *hallala*, or the sacrament, over it, and any animal shot by that ball will be clean and edible. Another and more convenient method is to have a gunsmith chase the words of the formula in silver wire upon the stock or barrel, and thereafter any game shot by that rifle will be sacramentally edible. In the case of the wild boar, the hunter does not worry about giving it the *hallala*, since it is forbidden food in any event.

Nets are set up across a path or entrance to a clearing on the side of a hill, and long palisades of brush are erected like wings on either side of the net, slightly wedge-shaped, and at an angle of less than 180 degrees to each other. Beaters start at the foot of the hill and work up, converging until they reach the ends of the palisade, and thus drive into the net whatever small game they may have intercepted. In this way they catch rabbits, hares,
[262] partridges, foxes, jackals, and other animals. Although they kill the foxes and jackals, they never eat them.[1]

[231] Ferrets are used in winter time to unearth rabbits. They are completely tamed and well trained.

224 Traps are made by local blacksmiths and are based on the same mechanical principle as
326 the type with which the reader is familiar. The differences are: (1) The base of the trap is a frame, rectangular in shape, instead of a plate. The jaws are hinged into the sides of this. (2) Each jaw is bent in two right angles instead of in an arc. (3) The spring, attached to one arm of the frame, operates at right angles to the axis of the jaws instead of parallel to it. Thus it actually touches but one side of each jaw, instead of both sides, as in modern traps. (4) There is no trigger or bait-holder. The traps are set by means of two sticks, one put under the end of the frame and over one open jaw, and the other under both sides of the frame and over the end of the first stick. The second stick thus is caught in the jaws when the trap is sprung.

224 The trap is buried in the path or in front of the hole of any small animal, the top being covered with leaves and dust. The two sticks are so arranged that the slightest motion will

[1] I have seen tribesmen of the Zaer, near Rabat, eat a jackal.

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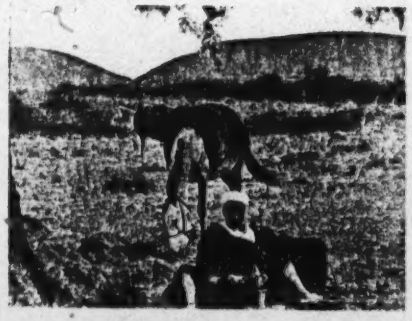
●326

Shoeing a mule. Tiguisas, Ghomara



A negroid smith at his portable anvil, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Beni Bu Nsar men with their sawed planks in market. Suk et Tnine, Taghanth

Taghanthi carpenter planing a board

[p. 60(a)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 RL MX3

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER V

MATERIAL CULTURE (CONTINUED)

METAL WORK

326 METAL workers may be divided into three classes: ironworkers or blacksmiths, who are subjected to social restrictions, Jews, and gunsmiths.

325 None of these metal workers know the art of extracting metals from their ores — all the raw material used in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara in recent times has been brought in from outside.[1] Thus, using smelting as the criterion, one might say that these people are not in an age of metal, despite the fact that they use metal tools exclusively. This observation is doubly true when one considers that all the metal workers, except the gunsmiths, are counted as outsiders and immigrants.

The blacksmiths use double bellows of goat-skin bags, which they work up and down with sticks. These bellows, called *tahanut*, must not be confused with the *arrabos*, the bellows of European fireplace type now made in Taghruth and copied from those made in Meknes and Fes. The blacksmith works over a charcoal fire, quickened by means of these bellows: he heats his metal until it is red hot and then forges it on an anvil, called *er minsbuth*, which consists merely of an iron stake driven into the ground (unless he has had the good fortune to buy a European anvil). All iron is forged, none is cast; in fact, the only 325 metal melted and cast is lead, used for bullets. The Riffian smiths are, however, able to perform one feat of considerable difficulty; they weld steel edges into soft iron implements, 177 an art unknown, I believe, to the Negroes of Central Africa, from whom, judging by tradition, the physical type of the smiths, and the types of implements, modern North African metallurgy was borrowed. The Vandals, according to Procopius,[2] are supposed to have shown the North Africans the secret of steel-working, whence the smiths may have obtained this technique, if they did not obtain it later from Jews or Arabs.

326 The blacksmiths make hoes, sickles, ploughshares, pruning knives, knives, shears, 412 scissors, axes, adzes, chisels, hammers, and horseshoes. Such tools as files, vises, saws, 439 planes, awls, needles, and pincers they import.

325 Hoes, sickles, adzes, and axes were formerly so made that they could be hafted only to 412 shafts which bent at right angles; in other words, the hafting superficially resembled a Bronze Age technique, especially since the end of such a tool away from the cutting edge was equipped with a socket for the reception of the end of the hafting. In order to make this socket, the implement was constructed as follows: a flat square sheet of iron was ham-

[1] Marmol (chaps. 41, 43, 46) states that iron was extracted in the neighborhood of Melilla and of Megso, as well as in Beni Said. The first two sites were probably worked, or at least directed, by townspeople, who were not, according to Marmol's own accounts, native Berbers in blood. In Beni Said the mining operations were well organized, and merchants came from as far as Fes to buy iron balls, from which the tools Berbers use were made.

The excellence of the organization of this extinct industry in Beni Said may have been due to Arab or some other non-Riffian inspiration. At the time Marmol wrote the eastern Rif was much more open to outside influences than it has been in later centuries.

[2] Marcus, p. 217 (from Cassiod. Variar. v. 1, Victor Vitensis I, 10).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

325 412 mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. [171] The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

325 531 Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. [171] The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

● [326] 411 The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibshen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

326 492 231 The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

326 563 The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghsuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghsuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the [531] hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Asht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[434] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghsuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramaḍān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imzūren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith 'Alī u 'Aisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj 'Abd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer. This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand; on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.